Tobol of the Tăitok

631 The Tăitok are the high-born nobles of the Ahaggar along with
565 the Kel Rela and the Tégéhé Mellet.

They are related to the Kel Rela by Kella's female cousin,
[602] Sakina, who was married to Amer el Khadj, amrar of the Tăitok.

According to Duveyrier, part of this tribe is of the same origin
[173] as the Imenan sultans; that is, descendants of Idris, and the other part is originally from the Kel Fadei in Air where the stock /souche/ still exists. (1)

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 322.

114 The Tăitok captured by the Mouadi Chaamba at Hassi Inifel in
631 1887 reported to Captain Bissuel that they rejected any fraternity
565 with the Ihaggaren: "We are natives of the country where we live; our fathers were born there, also our ancestors, as far back as the beginning of the world. Our ancestors did not come from a foreign country. At no time were we the brothers of the Hoggar or the Ajjer or any other tribe." (2) This version does not seem to be of

2. Les Touareg de l'Ouest
/The Western Tuareg/, p. 18
(Algiers, 1888).

any great value, and Captain Bissuel gives it with reservations, by setting forth the probable ignorance of his informants.

579 They are very independent in spirit and can never bear without
631 balking the predominance, even in name only, of the Kel Rela
643 and the suzerainty of the aménokal of the Ahaggar. After the
[181] division of the Imrad, they still endeavored to seize the aménokalat,
175 which gave rise to fratricidal struggles with the Kel Rela. These battles are even more deserving of the name of fratricide /203/ by the fact that the Kel Rela and the Tăitok are bound by numerous marriages and are all more or less cousins.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Aménokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kéradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Tounîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Azioual, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[181] Azioual was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kéradji was kept as aménokal.

175 Azioual was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
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back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioue1, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknaten of the Aïr.

Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounin. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastan.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to sett as slaves.

When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

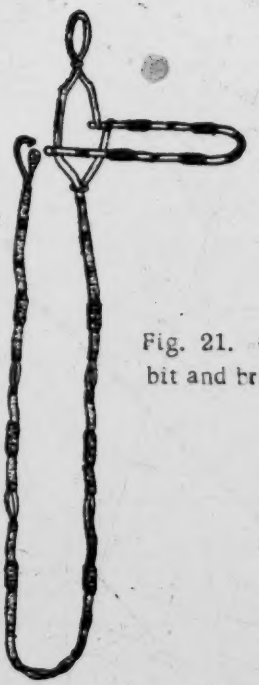

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

222 have made them the base of their diet; for this reason they were
262 nicknamed acridophages. The Nasamonians of Herodotus prepared them in the same way the Tuareg do, and the /236/ similar diets of the two peoples is perhaps not pure coincidence.

There are a few fish ponds in the Ahaggar, but the Imochar
226 and the Imrad do not eat the flesh of these animals; only the
262 Issekkemaren catch barbels and sometimes catfish, or rather they gather them up in the wadis after floods, for they do not know how to fish, properly speaking.

262 The sedentary peoples raise chickens, but the Tuareg do not eat them either, since they consider the meat impure. The same interdict is extended to eggs. The only bird which is an exception is the ostrich. There are no longer any ostriches in the Sahara, but
[223] when the Ihaggaren go to the Sudan they capture them if they have the chance; in addition, they eat ostrich eggs cooked in the ashes.

Times of scarcity were sometimes experienced. They are rare
262 now that caravans can circulate freely, but they were much more
731 frequent when the state of war continued for a long time. The
224 Tuareg fell back on wild plants which do not generally enter into their diet: the young growths of tahlé (Typha elephantina), the
[824] leaves of the tanekfit (Eruca aurea) and the aramas (Atriplex halimus), the underground stems of the danoun (Cistanche lutea) which resembles asparagus, and many other plants of very dubious food value,
[252] which they ate to assuage their hunger. The state of famine can become so pronounced that they sometimes gather up old bones, grind them up, reduce them to flour, and make gruels of them. It
[504] goes without saying that it is during these periods that pillaging is at its height. People steal from camp to camp, from tribe to tribe, and everyone forgets his brother and his friend, thinking of only one thing -- survival by any means.

492
484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

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643 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's pro-
648 tection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the pro-
[579] tection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili
492 tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for
677 their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Iesske-maren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *emehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg. But the relation (*tmaṣlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food, but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.